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CONFIDENTIAL

24 FEB 1959

Mr. Vanni B. Montana

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Dear Mr. Montana:

Thank you for the copy of your "Giustizia" article on the Italian situation. I am sure that it will be helpful to the many persons in Italy who are sincerely concerned with the future of democratic systems. Their path is not easy, and they will certainly be grateful for the understanding and encouragement of such American friends as yourself.

Sincerely,

Allen W. Dulles  
Director

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DD/P/WE [redacted] jas (6 February 1959)

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11-957/1

6 February 1959

MEMORANDUM FOR: Director of Central Intelligence

VIA

: Deputy Director (Plans)

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SUBJECT

: Suggested Reply to Letter from  
Vanni B. Montana, Editor of "Giustizia"

1. This memorandum forwards a suggested reply  
for signature of the Director to a letter received from  
Mr. Vanni B. Montana, editor of "Giustizia".

2. Mr. Montana's letter is also forwarded herewith.

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Acting Chief  
Western Europe Division

2 Attachments:  
Suggested Reply  
Mr. Montana's letter

cc: DDCI

# GIUSTIZIA

ITALIAN EDITION OF JUSTICE

Official Organ of the  
INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

Executive Registry

11-957

January 29, 1959

Vanni B. Montana  
EDITOR

Dear Mr. Dulles :-

I have written the enclosed article on the complex Italian crisis. It will appear on all the different language editions of the Free Trade Union News of the AFL-CIO, as well as on this paper, "Giustizia".

It is to be hoped that the fundamental mistakes made <sup>during the war</sup> by the Italian Section of the OSS and by other top level policy makers in Washington in regard to Nenni's PSI, which I never regretted to have opposed, will not be repeated once again.

You perhaps will remember that during the war I was corresponding from New York with Silone in Switzerland through your channel. It seems  was misled by amateurish consultants into opposing and fighting my views, and into favoring and helping actively communist sponsored united fronts.

I trust you will find time and means to repair the damages.

With kind regards

*Vanni B. Montana*  
Vanni B. Montana

STAT

## WHAT DOES NENNI REALLY WANT?

By Vanni Montana

Do the results of the Naples Congress of the Partito Socialista Italiano (PSI) mean a positive forward step by its leader, Pietro Nenni, toward broadening the basis of Italian democracy?

As far as appearance goes, it could be yes. Were appearance to count more than substance, it might also be said that Communists are for democracy, since they often speak very loudly about constitutional rights and freedom and never fail to parade behind the names of such great democratic figures as Lincoln and Jefferson in America, Garibaldi in Italy, or Bolivar in South America.

But, if we look beneath the surface of the Naples Congress of the P.S.I., it will be seen that Nenni and his friends actually did not make a forward but a backward step. The "autonomy" proclaimed by the P.S.I. in Naples from the Communist Party is not a new development. Its Congress, held in Venice, a couple of years before, did practically the same thing.

Prior to the Venice Congress, Nenni and Giuseppe Saragat, leader of the Italian Social Democratic Party (PSDI) had met in a summer resort town, Prolognan, to arrange for the merging of the two parties, on a democratic basis, free from all subordination to the Communists.

At the Naples Congress, Nenni disdainfully rejected any idea of dealing with the P.S.D.I. which -- despite its numerical weakness, lack of strong organization and meager financial means -- has contributed the

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decisive margin which Italian democracy needed to safeguard its newly-gained free institutions against Communist and Fascist attacks, and to maintain Italy's bonds with the free nations organized in NATO.

Not only did Nenni reject at Naples any idea of merging with the PSDI, but he directed the main fire of his colorful oratory against the PSDI, the Christian Democrats and the other genuine democratic groups rather than against the Communists.

The important test is whether or not a party or any other organization helps Moscow's policies which are flexible in form to meet special local situations, but which are rigid and firm in their purpose -- the weakening of the free world, the destruction of democracy and its replacement by worldwide Soviet despotism. It is not so much the kind of utterances one hears from the spokesmen of the PSI that counts as the practical work it does.

The fundamental points of Communist policy in Italy are:

1. Unity within the Confederazione Italiana Generale del Lavoro (C.G.I.L.) which is the central labor body completely dominated by the Communists.
2. Unity in the Cooperative Alliance, a central body controlling thousands of cooperatives, and tightly dominated by the Communist Party.
3. Unity and cooperation between Communists and the P.S.I. in the thousands of municipal and provincial governments, as well as strengthening the unprincipled united fronts in the regional governments of Sicily

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between Communists, P.S.I., Fascists, Monarchists and insurgent Christian Democrats.

4. United fronts in other mass organizations -- Women's League, sports, etc., etc.

5. One of the main aims of the Moscow-led Italian Communist Party is to dominate Southern Italy and the great islands of Sicily and Sardinia, whose strategic importance in the Mediterranean, sea connecting three continents -- Europe, Africa and Asia -- is very clear. These parts of Italy are largely depressed areas. The Communist Party has built a special united front organization "Comitato del Mezzogiorno", whose task is to win political domination of Southern Italy and its islands. The Naples Congress of Nenni's P.S.I. strongly endorsed this Committee.

"Theoretically", Nenni again proclaimed the "autonomy", the "independence", of the P.S.I. from the Communist Party. But, in practice, he cemented once again the unity of action and common aims with the Communist Party in all these vitally important fields.

This is not all. In regard to foreign policy, Nenni's formula adopted at the Naples convention calls upon Italy to be outside the "two blocs". It is said that this is neutralism of the Nasser kind. But the position of Italy is very different from that of Egypt. Italy is not in Africa. Italy is part of Western Europe and the shield of Western Europe, including Italy, is the Atlantic Alliance. Deprived of this shield, Italy would become an easy prey of Communist maneuvers which are moving definitely

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in the direction of deals with the Fascists and some greedy industrialists who want to do business with Russia and its satellites.

The tarantella and the serenades played around Nenni, during the war and right after the war, have again been renewed in the last couple of years. The net result of helping Nenni during this period was that the Italian trade unions, the Italian Socialist Movement, the Cooperative Organizations and other mass organizations became part of the Communist Party empire or orbit within Italy. Among those who supported these Communist maneuvers there were undoubtedly some who thought they were building democracy. But they were building on the utterly false blueprints of the so-called united front.

The practical results of the renewed tarantella and serenades are clear:--All genuine Italian democratic parties -- from the Liberal to the Christian Democrat, from the Social Democrat to the Republican -- find themselves in crisis. The fall of the Fanfani government is only a climactic phase of the crisis caused largely by the impact of the Moscow-directed Communist maneuvers in Italy and the gullibility of those falling for them.

In the new crisis created by the P.S.I. Naples Congress, Giuseppe Saragat has been showing determination and courage in resisting the latest tricky and sinister Nenni maneuvers. Should disloyalty develop in his party, he would be fully justified in speedily taking the firmest measures to protect the democratic Socialist Party organization and future.

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It is the opinion of this writer that the leaders of the Italian Liberal Party (P.L.I.) are also responsible for the dangerous situation now in the making. Their rigid opposition to the urgently needed reforms has led some sectors of the Christian Democratic Party, of the P.S.D.I., of the Republican Party, to look to the "left". And it is in this so-called Left where Palmiro Togliatti, head of the Italian Communist Party, has never stopped fishing with several rods and lines, with different hooks and bait, to lure the different fish he wants to catch. Were the Italian Liberal Party to be more open-minded and realistic in its attitude toward the social aspirations of the Italian workers and peasants, the solidarity and cooperation among the genuine democratic forces of the Italian Republic would be re-established on a broader and firmer foundation.

What is greatly needed is not only a common denominator for liberty, but also a common denominator for social justice. To help the P.S.I., to serenade Nenni and his type of leaders, to approve, applaud or even excuse its policies can only result in destroying the free Italian trade unions, fatally weakening NATO, and ultimately preparing the crucifying and burial of Italian democracy without any further hope for resurrection. That is the ultimate goal and inevitable outcome of the "new" Nenni course. No "critical" Communist phrases and no hypocritical Nenni claims to the contrary can deter or defest this logic of events.



Vanni B. Montana

ITALIAN DRESS & WAISTMAKERS' UNION

LOCAL 89, I. L. G. W. U.

218 WEST 40TH STREET

NEW YORK 18, N. Y.



Personal  
attention,  
please

Mr. Allen Dulles

M.P.O. Box 1513

Washington, D. C.



JAN 29 '59

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